magical formulae and incantations (khāthā cf. Textor 1960:80-98; 67-79). It was one of the branches of occultism (saiyasāt [McF. 1940:895]), the ancient science which sought by magical means to control the forces of the heavens and of earth and to manipulate them in behalf of man's interests and enterprises, whether economic, aesthetic, personal, or other. Some of the other branches were dancing, singing, the agricultural rites, boxing, boat- and house-building, and the life-cycle rites. This powerful wisdom was contained in sacred books at the Buddhist temple where it passed, usually orally, from priest to priest. It could be transmitted away from the temple between men, if they had once been ordained. Its transmission was controlled by ritual teacher-pupil relations, and its use by formal request through presentation of a sacred offering, the khwan khāo (cf. Dūan's Tale p.44). Unauthorized magic did not work because it was not validated by its supernatural discoverer; improper ritual behavior incurred strong supernatural sanctions. Instruction in magic and its use was free except for the token offerings and coin in the khwan khāo. The only rigid obligation was a public annual homage-to-the-teacher ritual (wai khrū).

The persons authorized to handle any part of saiyasāt were called mǭ. In the context of medicine, mǭ was translated "doctor." To keep the modern and ancient traditions separate, we shall use the Thai word "mǭ" throughout this paper for the practitioner of the ancient occult art, reserving the word "doctor" for physicians trained in modern medicine.

The field of medicine was split into categories or specialties. There were, for instance, the exorcisers of spirits or disease objects (mǭ phī), and the curers (mǭ rakhā) who made up decoctions particularly for element imbalances. Astrologist-foretellers (mǭ dū) analysed disturbances due to astral confluences; soul-ceremonialists (mǭ khwan) carried on the khwan-strengthening rites; and the mǭ sanē specialized in love and hate magic. On a lower plane were masseurs (mǭ nūat) and midwives (mǭ tamyae). No specialist could operate in the field of another unless he had formally acquired that specialty. No limits, though, were set on the number of specialties a person might acquire so that all their lives, mǭ were open to and seeking new knowledge by pilgrimage, discussion, or visit to a Chinese or modern druggist. The major curing specialties were only in the hands of males, but men and women both practiced the minor branches of midwifery and massaging.[19]

19. A woman medium (khonsong) who cured when possessed by the spirit of a male mǭ was not entitled to be called mǭ. Her special circumstances are discussed in "Magic and Maturity."

562 [827] [853] delivery, "her blood was purified to a white color to become the milk of the breast."[48] Nursing a child was the essence of a woman's function, the supremely feminine act. A priest said, "A mother mercifully receives the khwan into her womb, and for maintaining life gives more of her own body, strength, and care (i.e. than does the father). Mothers are born to love children. Theirs is a steady intent to provide children with successful existences. To a mother one is most grateful" (S.S.).

562 462 252 264 In a wider context, not only all their household members but people anywhere were the objects of women's nurture: women were in charge of the cooking even if occasionally helped by men. At the meals they prepared they were often the last to eat, so often "holding back and eating whatever was left over," that in a poor houshold, short rationing daily was probable (Hauck, et al.:35,49). One old lady expressed deep satisfaction that she "did not feel hungry any more." She construed this as proof that she had ample merit, but it also meant that she was a great donor who gave continuously and took little. Women usually offered the early morning food to priests in behalf of the family, and they took charge of cooking the immense amount of food served at large ceremonies and temple festivities. When age pushed women past their mature capacities, they returned to the status of recipients. A son said of his senile mother, "She has gone back to being a child" (klap pai pen dek). The son's wife cooked delicacies for her.

[082] [431] [796] 593 888

562 857 [291] [593] A desire to give tender care and nourishment was deemed inborn in all women. Although sex was not strongly differentiated in babyhood,[49] by age 3 a hard-to-handle skirt was put on a tiny girl, who reacted with vast pride. By 5, girls were helping with cooking and baby tending. Often has an older sister of 9 or 12 been observed patiently feeding her charge the ice cream she longed to eat herself.

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[822] 48. This very phrase was congruent with the colors associated with the khwan. Red or white flags, or pieces of cloth, or puddings (khanom) were required wherever khwan were involved, such as in rice, san phra phūm, and tham khwan ceremonies. Red was an auspicious color, white symbolized innocence and purity.

[856] 49. Anuman Rajadhon reports, though, that at the moment of birth, the child's sex was immediately "adjusted" (Anuman Rajadhon:127).

sacred books were inherited by males.

In the light of this definition, only the 2 or 3 males were true professional midwives. They gave elaborate annual ceremonies of homage to their teachers (wai khrū) attended by all the persons who had profited from the teacher's magic that year. However, all the male midwives were also fully qualified mō. Their ceremonies were large because they were dedicated to the teachers of their curing powers as well as midwifery.

The male midwives, then, were in a somewhat different category than the females. They were mō who had, in addition, trained their hands for midwifery as an "extra specialty." Midwifery seems to have been one of the few areas where skilled hands were considered of greater importance than magic. "We have no magic for delivery," said one male midwife, knowing that nothing but merit could guarantee success. Because they had access to the incantations for element and spirit control, and could make holy water, the midwife-mō could spare the parturient the necessity of getting in an outside mō, if such were needed. However, one part of the midwife's job the men could not do. To protect their male powers of invulnerability they were forbidden to wash the woman's clothing. A woman or a female midwife always had to do this. Men also could not provide the female "mystique" particularly related to the khwan and to growth.

However, the community did not adhere to this narrow definition of professionalism, for several of the experienced and competent women, Buddhist and Muslim, behaved as professionals and were accorded the title of mō tamyaa. Their magical formulae, being congruent with their female office of promoters of growth and life, were especially effective. Like a mō they received the ritual gift of the khwan khaō, hallmark of the possession of occult formulae, which the patient presented to assure the benefits of magical knowledge.[68]

68. This ritual bowl of rice and offerings was never excused even between the closest kin. If forgotten or misused, the "teacher" punished the midwife with pains, and had to be mollified with a food offering. The magical benefits could not be withheld once the khwan khaō had been accepted. It was not accepted if the patient were too near death to be assisted. If the patient died, the whole gift, cash, rice, and all, was given at once to the temple to make merit.

APPENDIX

MUSLIM CUSTOMS IN BANG CHAN

The small Muslim minority in Bang Chan though maintaining its identity, lived scattered through every hamlet, with the heaviest concentration around the mosque at the southern edge of the village. The occasional inter-marriage of Buddhist and Muslim was eventually amicably adjusted to the community and the religion. Some Buddhists manifested a veiled hostility in calling the Muslims "stingy." One said, "Muslims have expensive medicine to induce abortion, after which they might kill the baby. A Buddhist would use this medicine to help deliver, but would not dare take life." The Muslim reputation as a source for powerful magic, especially for love and sorcery, bespeaks some edginess in the relations between the 2 ethnic groups, but Buddhists sometimes sought out the benefit of this magic.

In spite of these separatist tendencies, the Muslims were fully Thai citizens, and participated as equals with the Buddhists in the economic, political and much of the social life. The 2 groups were in many respects interdependent. The Muslims did not object to taking life, so acted as butchers for the Buddhists. Muslims were frequent patients of Buddhist mɔ̄, whether priests or lay. The only Muslim who did a little curing was the To Iman, head of the mosque, but few if any Buddhists came to him for cures. Because every mɔ̄ gave an annual ceremony of homage to his teacher attended by everyone who had benefited from those powers during the year, Muslims and Buddhists met amiably at several large feasts. These festivals were public displays, very competitive in feeling, of the success of the different mɔ̄. One became the largest of the village-wide festivities. Buddhist women attended the Muslim female midwife, teacher-rites, and vice versa. Buddhists and Muslims, especially the prominent families, attended each other's home ceremonies, such as weddings, tonsures, and that part of the ordination held in the home (the tham khwan). Separate kitchens were established at large Buddhist ceremonies so that Muslims could safely adhere to their one dietary regulation, the avoidance of pork. No such arrangements had to be made at Muslim ceremonies for Buddhists had no food taboos, and loved Muslim cooking.

Midwifery was an area of frank, harmonious interchange, with midwives of either religion often attending women of the other. Buddhist male midwives were allowed by the Muslim husbands to attend their wives, though female attendance was preferred. Satisfaction was expressed by Buddhist women over

792 262 441 village offers of regular service, the holiday offerings, home invitations and sporadic gifts so that all priests had places to go, no one had much more than any other, and that the whole temple did not undergo periods of undue glut[1] or hardship.

792 794 262 About mid-July, Buddhist Lent changed the food habits somewhat. This three-month period corresponded with the height of the rainy season. Priests did not leave the temple to gather offerings on rainy mornings, but younger priests, assisted by the temple boys, cooked meals from supplies on hand. On the first day of Lent, people brought less perishable foods: green bananas, coconuts, sugar cane, pomelo, sweet potatoes, taro, onions, garlic, salt, sugar, dry salted beef paste, dried fish, canned goods, and milled rice. During Lent fresh or cooked foods were brought in, and some ladies volunteered to cook for varying periods of time. On a holiday in September, families made up such quantities of a sweet of "puffed" glutinous rice, sesame seed, and peanuts pounded and held together with sirup and sometimes covered with grated coconut that priests were tired of it and many children got diarrhea from overeating of it.

In mid-October, the Lenten restrictions ended with another holiday offering, and thereafter the priests went regularly on their appointed rounds.

796 261 On Buddhist holidays, the people did not usually eat any of the food brought to the temple, but on (3)thauaud (2)ka-(5)thin[2], an all-day festival held in October or November, after feeding the priests, the people also ate bounteously.

792 857 262 Residing at Wat Bang Chan in 1954 were 22 boys, aged 10 to 16, sent to serve the priests, get their living and attend school. Most of them were from poor or disorganized homes. They shared the food offerings from which they received three meals a day. Among the children's food records, the food listed by these boys as eaten the day before was comparatively diverse.

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792 262 737 235 1. Amounts of food given usually exceeded the actual needs of the priests and temple boys. One instance was noted in which food was sent by the priests to a needy old person nearby. Leftover rice was dried and sold for chicken feed.

114 104 2. The transcription used throughout this report is that described by Sharp et al., 1953, pp. 12-15. Numbers in parentheses represent the different tones of the syllables.

221 132 243 244 245 262 434 503 766 811

2: Hauck et al. D.E-5 (1952-1954) 1958 AO7 Central Thai AO7 Bang Chan

Chart 1. SEASONAL CYCLE - BANG CHAN, THAILAND, 1953-54

	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.
Season	→ ←WET→							←COOL→		←HOT→		
Temperature (°C)[1]	30	29	28	29	29	28	26	25	25	28	30	30
Humidity, rel., %	77	80	81	81	80	78	74	70	70	65	66	67
Rainfall	→heavy	moderate	←heavy→		←light→				←negligible→			
Canals	rising			high	(floods)				lowering fast		low,dry	
Cultivation of Rice	plowing→ seedbed grown			TRANSPLANTING		growing	early var. mature		←HARVEST→			
School	vacation							vacation			vacation	
Cash available Source	cash in hand→ rice					←cash shortage→ cash jobs→			main rice sale		cash in hand→	
Fruit;vegetables	→	←new planting→							←annuals die→			
Fish: Supplies	ponds drained→								←ponds drained→			
Maturation		←many varieties→							←best varieties→			
Preserving	←much→	←moderate→							←most→			
Ceremonies	ceremonies→		←Buddhist Lent→							←ceremonies→		
Dietary survey	→	←Round I→		←Round II→			←Round III→			←Round IV→		

1. Mean temperatures and relative humidity estimated from charts for Bangkok and the central plain of Thailand (Bunnag and Dhararak, 1947). Mean monthly temperature range from 25-30°C corresponds to 77-86°F; diurnal variations are greater, averaging 18°F (10°C) in April and 22°F (12°C) in January.

There was an important psychological difference between the two work seasons. At planting time, people were anxious; at harvest they were happy. People saw cash just ahead, for the crop was now safe. Each host of a cooperative work party gave at least one big convivial feast, the best he could provide and even the hired laborers got a round of liquor. People joked more than usual at work. Two boat loads of workers were observed racing down a canal at 6 a.m., shouting and cheering, although they had probably worked long hours for days or weeks before. Everyone knew that a joyous season was at hand.

When the crop was in, the people rested, fished, and began to prepare for big ceremonies demanding organized work. Supplies of fish were needed for preserving or for feasts. Labor and engines were now available, and with water low, fishponds could be conveniently drained, and the fish on the muddy bottom caught. A pond might be drained two or three times a year, but timing was determined by the availability of equipment and workers and by the needs of the annual ceremonial cycle. One pot of fish was given to each helper at a cooperative pond-draining.

Most farmers sold their rice in February. Capital was invested in farm equipment, buffalo, housing and ceremonies. Debts were cleared if possible. Cash expenditures for food, which had declined progressively since the beginning of the rice year, reached the yearly minimum, mostly because people had ample time to fish. People also saved up their money if they were sponsoring a ceremony, ate lightly at home if they were going to one. Since school closed from March 15 to May 1, because of the heat, money was not given to children for snacks.

The land dried up and cracked, rainwater for drinking gave out, and some canals were reduced to mud. Cherished plants were kept alive by watering, but no new planting could be done. Buffalo, which at other seasons were confined and fed, now roamed the fields, nibbling stubble. Everyone was busy and happy. Ordinations, weddings, cremations, merit-making feasts and several big holidays came one after another. Of the four New Year's Days observed in Bang Chan, the Buddhist New Year, which because of the lunar calendar fell about mid-April, was the most important, being celebrated over two days with extensive offerings of food to the priests and with other activities. The official New Year's Day, January 1, and the traditional New Year's Day about November 1, had rather slight observances. Chinese New Year's, in February, was celebrated by the Chinese residents who presented a school teacher and their hamlet headmen each with a boiled chicken and a Chinese sweet. Lent officially closed the ceremonial season, but the advent of plowing-time slowed the pace considerably.

When the rains finally came, the rice year started again.

FOOD IN CONNECTION WITH FESTIVITIES AND CEREMONIES

262 A discussion of food habits in Bang Chan would be in-
796 complete without some description of ceremonies ((1)ngaan)[1] which dominate the village scene during the dry, post-harvest season. These events are of interest in connection with food habits because of 1) the prominent place that food occupies in them, 2) the cultural significance and relatively large cost, both of which must be taken into account in any plans for dietary improvement and 3) the possible influence of differences in food habits at the ceremonial season and of problems of sanitation incident to large-scale food preparation on the nutrition and health of village residents.

796 The season for ceremonies and festivities opened with the harvest rites to the Rice Goddess and closed with the beginning of Buddhist Lent in mid-July. The big occasions were cremations, ordinations into the Buddhist priesthood, weddings, and rites for cutting of the topknot[2] or homage-to-the-
527 teacher.[3] Smaller family celebrations might mark such events as the raising and dedicating of a house, the return of a son from the army, or even public events such as the completion
264 of a road or a bridge. Whatever the focal activity, a gala meal was served first to priests and then to guests.

[782] Offering food to priests brought merit, which ensured happiness in later rebirths (see p. 9). Because the greater the number of priests served, the greater the merit, people were spurred to put on as large an affair as they could
[554] afford. Moreover, a person was judged throughout the community by the abundance and quality of the food served daily and at festivities. Thus, there was reason to make a (1)ngaan
527 as opulent as possible, but celebrations of every degree
796 occurred in Bang Chan, from lavish feasts to simple ceremonies.

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[194] 1. Significantly the same Thai word is used for work
[461] and for ceremony.

[302] 2. Topknots, formerly worn by all Thai children, used
[554] to be cut ritually at the time of puberty. In Bang Chan, the
[555] growing of a topknot had become primarily an attempt to improve a child's health. Few school age children were topknots. They were usually cut earlier than puberty.

[575] 3. A person who had received specialized knowledge from a teacher gave thanks annually in a ceremony, to which those who had profited by this knowledge were obliged to come and/or contribute. Thus, all the patients of a traditional medical practitioner helped him to honor his teacher.

796 The actual ritual of these ceremonies did not take a great deal of time although it was important. Most of the
[876] time and effort went into preparing and serving food. Even a small celebration involved cooperative effort among relatives
[782] and friends. For every event, the Buddhist altar in the home was decorated and offerings were made to the house-spirit. A
764 big cremation might require planning in detail for years ahead:
796 invitations to priests and relatives in distant parts of the
574 country; hiring an orchestra and obtaining ceremonial gear.
533 For the largest events, when the guest lists ranged upward to
[426] 60 or so priests and 400 other guests, one borrowed the hundreds of trays, dishes and bowls owned by the temple. No rental fee was charged for these, but such items had to be returned the next day, clean, and damaged articles replaced or paid for. As the day or days drew near, boat-loads of fresh provender were bought at big markets, and organized cooperative cooking went on under the direction of a competent person,
[258] usually one of the "professional" cooks of the village. The
[476] day before one ordination, 33 women were seen preparing vegetables, fish and soup; 13 others were making 7 kinds of desserts; about 50 others of both sexes were at different tasks, the men in particular cooking Chinese noodles, grating coconut, stirring, stoking fires. The picture was one of rows of stoves, pots so large they were stirred with a boat paddle, buckets of sugar, eggs by the hundreds, a hired generator to run a mechanical coconut-grater. On this occasion two meals were served. At another splendid (1)ngaan, the priests were fed three meals, other guests up to eight meals, over a period of two and one-half days. Workers had received additional meals beforehand.

[262] The banquet comprised rice and many dishes not met with in daily fare: Chinese noodles; "with-rice" dishes of several kinds, rich in fish, meat and vegetables: for example, fried chicken with internal organs, garlic and pepper; fried pork with mung bean; (2)mii (a fried vermicelli) with fish, vegetables, and a tomato sauce; many different desserts made of eggs, rice flour, glutinous rice, agar, coconut and coconut milk, sugar, sweet potato, dried green beans; flowers served in syrup, fresh fruit such as watermelon; ices and coffee.

128 In Appendix A, p. 102 is a list of foods bought for an
262 annual homage-to-the-teacher rite. It is the nearest approxi-
796 mation to a quantitative record of food for a ceremony that
895 the research group obtained. The prominence of purchased foods, especially of flesh foods, is noteworthy.

264 On the great day, the priests were served first, either
796 at 7 a.m. or 11 a.m., or both, always at least in part by the
792 host, who sat and chatted with them. No one else ate until

the priests had finished[1]. The trays of food from which each guest served himself were bountiful, but it was not proper to eat very heartily, lest the host suffer the shame of running out of food. If there were a dramatic show or movie at night it was open to the public. In one case 2000 people attended. At that time eight commercial venders turned up to sell coffee, soft drinks, ices and other foods. Venders came to every large ceremony, and were heavily patronized. At the end of a (1)ngaan, the sponsors felt satisfaction and security. Where there was plenty of food to take home, the success was even greater. An earthy compliment was, "the fields were full of feces."

In addition to the banquet were ceremonial offerings of food to spirits and ritual food sometimes consumed as a sacrament. For each ceremony, appropriate selections were made from a specific list: a cooked pig's head, or at least a slice of cooked pork; two kinds of sweetmeats, red ((2)kha-(5)nom (3)tom (1)dæɛɛng) and white ((2)kha-(5)nom (3)tom (5)khaaw); a cooked fish, usually (1)plaa (3)chauaun, with its head and tail; a green coconut with its coconut water; a bunch of bananas either of the (3)kluaj (4)nam-(4)waa or (3)kluaj (4)nam varieties; a hard-boiled egg, usually duck; and liquor.[2] Other kinds of sweets, fruit, sugar cane, items for betel chewing, chicken, salt, and rice might appear. As these ceremonies were thought to be auspicious, purifying, therapeutic and protective, they were most elaborate at the great (1)tham-(1)khwan (soul-strengthening) ceremony, at house-raisings and at rites to local guardian spirits. The necessity of these ceremonies explains why when public structures were raised, a portion of the public funds were used for a repast. In Bang Chan when donations for a new school

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1. Other priorities in service might be observed; for example, at a celebration preceding ordination the priest-candidates were served next. At one small affair, when 11 priests came to a home to conduct a service for a disabled old man who could not go to the temple, this elder was served after the priests, then the research group who counted as visiting dignitaries, and finally the other family members, with the women who prepared the food, and the children, eating last. The general sequence prescribed by etiquette was: priests should be served before anyone else, old before the young, the males before females, persons with high status such as teachers and ceremonialists before low, urban before rural. Those who cooked and served came last of all. When the number of participants was large, guests might be served, as they arrived, over a period of hours.

2. The presence of meat, fish and alcohol is this ceremonial food reflected non-Buddhist elements in Thai culture, and should not be viewed as a gross violation of Buddhist precepts.

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In Bang Chan when donations for a new school
264 building warranted buying the foundation materials, so that
476 volunteer labor was solicited for their installation, some of
946 the money went into food, despite additional donations of food. This was in no way misappropriation. Helping to cook was as important as helping to dig the holes.

782 The spirit-offering, or the portions eaten by a partic-
824 ipant as a sacrament, were actually tiny bits of each food. Afterward, the entire lay-out, pork, sweetmeats and all, was eaten. Because all this was holy food, it was felt to be especially strengthening, so was usually given to children, but might be eaten by family members and occasionally, priests.
262 The pork was cut up and eaten with a hot sauce, or put into a
282 "with-rice" dish. It was especially appropriate with liquor.

262 The use of food ritually was not limited to the ceremon-
755 ial season nor to big events. The same purposes underlay the
852 use of a hard-boiled egg eaten in the ceremony that was designed to restore a child "sick from temporary loss of its soul," and in another performed in order to wean a baby.

43 The benefits of a (l)ngaan accrued to every participant
554 down to the last worker and contributor according to the degree
796 of assistance. With status in this and in later lives at stake, no one hesitated to plunge into debt or even to sell land. For the sake of economy two different ceremonies might be performed on the same day, for example a child's topknot cutting at a daughter's wedding.[1] The saving was in time and expense for food preparation, but such multiple ceremonies were performed less often than one might expect.

796 One assistance in the financing was that every invited
476 guest made a contribution, customarily 5 to 10 baht, which
435 helped defray the costs. In 1952, household heads reported these contributions as totalling from 30 to 1,000 baht, with an average of 343 for the year (Janlekha, 1955). Of 96 household heads who provided information on special expenses during the 5-year period March, 1948 through February, 1953, 36 had given (l)ngaan with net expenditures (costs minus contributions) ranging from -10[2] to 15,000 baht. The average net cost was 4,361 baht (Janlekha, 1955). These figures might represent a single (l)ngaan or several events.

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1. Every desired ritual could be carried out at little cost. Thus a priest-candidate whose father was dead, was included in the pre-ordination festivities planned for a friend; and on one occasion five bodies were cremated at the same ceremony, which was sponsored by the kin of one of the deceased.

2. The -10 meant that contributions exceeded the cost.

435 Some information as to the cost in baht of the larger
• 196 ceremonies held in 1954, and their scale, was obtained from
[124] the school teacher's diary. Examples follow:

[792] Ordination: Total cost 8,000, including food 1400, liquor 800. Guests contributed 4000.

[852] Top-knot tonsure: Total cost 1550, including new utensils 550; 6 priests fed; each priest given 12 baht; 12 (2)pin-(1)toos filled to take to the temple; 100 duck eggs donated, and 300 baht received from 30-40 guests.

[764] Cremation[1]: Total cost 40,000[2], including about 10,000 for food; 61 priests fed[3]. About 500 guests contributed 4377.

[875] Homage-to-the-teacher ritual:
A: Total cost 715, including food 565 and liquor 150; 40 tang (800 liters) fish and 3 tang Chinese noodles donated.
B: Total cost, 11,000[4].

[585] Wedding: A: Thai Buddhist: Total cost 5000.
Guests gave 2300.
[583] B: Rite of forgiveness after elopement:
a meal, with 5 bottles of liquor.
[184] C: Moslem: 2 buffalo slaughtered.
400 guests.

585 Arranged marriages could be large merit-making affairs,
282 with a huge procession from one house to the other of twenty-
four "pairs" of specified foods, i.e. two bearers each of
[583] sugar cane, fruits, sweetmeats and other things. At more
modest weddings and the rite of forgiveness for a couple who
had eloped, food might differ from the usual fare only by in-
cluding the three essentials of a wedding: pork, chicken and
alcohol.

273 Increased consumption of alcoholic beverages during the
196 ceremonial season was indicated by the sales of one local
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1. Cremation was the last of several rites at death. Private 7-day, 30-day and 100-day rites were held, when priests came to the home to chant and to be feasted.

2. With cooperative assistance from well-situated relatives in Bangkok.

[792] 3. The whole chapter of priests from Wat Bang Chan
[574] was always included at cremations, and often others from a distance.

4. See list of food purchased, Appendix A, pp. 102-103.

443 storekeeper: about 800-900 liter bottles per month during
273 the 3 months dry season as compared to about 350 bottles per
706 month during the 9 months of the rice season.

184 Moslems never served liquor at their weddings, crema-
[273] tions, and other auspicious events. Moslem residents occa-
sionally attended Buddhist (l)ngaan in spite of dietary pro-
[262] scriptions that Buddhists did not observe.[1] A medium (spiritualist) commented however that because pig's head was essential for her homage-to-the-teacher rites, some Moslem sick persons preferred to go to the Buddhist temple for treatment. There the priest-practitioner could afford to set up a separate kitchen for his Moslem patients, and so spare them the distress of confronting pork. To one big ordination Moslem guests brought their own food. Buddhists came somewhat more often to Moslem ceremonies.

262 We do not have enough information to appraise the nutri-
574 tional significance of food eaten at ceremonies. Some indi-
476 viduals got a great deal of it, others very little. One must
264 remember that the (l)ngaan was not a public but a private event at home, to which guests came on invitation. Although cremations and the teacher-rites of priest-practitioners were held at the temple, and so had a semi-public character, no one who was not invited presented himself for food. Of the participants, the working group undoubtedly received the most food; they were there the longest time, had regular meals, tastings and snacks throughout the (l)ngaan meal itself. This group comprised the host, co-sponsors and their immediate kin; other relatives and friends who were asked or who volunteered to help. The feeling was, if one were "very fond" of the host, one volunteered to cook. If less close, one was invited as a guest, but made the usual cash donation. Sociable persons combining skill and energy were invited often and volun-
[881] teered often, hence spent many days at ceremonies. Young unmarried men and women were asked and liked to be asked to work, for such occasions offered a great chance for fun and flirting.

114 Different degrees of participation may be estimated
476 from Janlekha's (1955) figures for reported contributions
796 ranging from 30 to 1000 baht in a year. Since a contribution of 5 to 10 baht per (l)ngaan was customary, the villager with the lowest reported contribution probably attended from 3 to 6 ceremonial occasions. Attendance at 100 or more (l)ngaan is unlikely, hence the villager who gave as much as 1000 baht probably made larger contributions per (l)ngaan.

574 What sort of persons or groups in the village were in-
796 vited as guests? Every host's list included his older

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[702] 1. Moslems were said to resist army service because they were afraid they would have to eat pork.

196 relatives, his other kin and friends according to bonds of
574 affection and respect. Certain priests of pleasing personalities, wide acquaintance or kinship in the community, or of valued skills, were invited more often than others, as were prominent elders and hamlet headmen. An invitation usually went only to the elder couple in a family. It did not automatically include the children. If married sons or daughters were invited, they were asked separately. Poor individuals were included only in the festivities of their close kinfolk, their immediate neighbors, maybe their own hamlet headman, or persons to whom they were obligated. Unless they were aged, their presence was validated only by hard work. Reciprocity was a factor, for one who could not reciprocate presumably would not be asked, nor would he volunteer. The few who were "anti-social" for whatever personal reason rarely attended.

268 Most members of the working group and guests left at
574 home their children of such age as to require watching.
196 Nursing babies might be there, hung in a hammock. Though
858 the children who ran excitedly about seemed numerous, most of them were the children, grandchildren, nieces and nephews of host, co-sponsors and relatives, so could not be excluded.

To sum up, those who shared least in the diet of the ceremonial season were the dependent children, i.e. up to the age of 6 or so, the less gregarious, and the poor who had no way to reciprocate. Children from 7 to adolescence shared in a limited way, attending (l)ngaan of their own close kin or of a geographically close neighbor. Parents sometimes took snacks from the feast home to the children. On the other hand, persons of prestige and popularity, especially if aged, were asked frequently.

242 Doubtless for those who attended many (l)ngaan, the
796 food eaten during the ceremonial season differed considerably from the usual family fare. We have no way of knowing whether it was better than usual because of a larger intake, for instance, of pork and meat in general, or whether the total nutritive value was less satisfactory because of increased consumption of "empty calories" in the form of sugar and alcohol.

242 During the (l)ngaan season the home meal schedule was
264 frequently disrupted in the families of the participants.
796 The main cook might be absent, too tired, or too full to feel like cooking a big meal at home. In anticipation of a feast, preparation of the usual breakfast or dinner or both might be abandoned, with reliance on a few snacks for the stay-at-homes to add to their rice. Thus the food intake of family members who did not attend the ceremonials might be adversely affected.

690 One other aspect of (l)ngaan which should be mentioned

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One other aspect of (1)ngaan which should be mentioned
952 in connection with food and health is the opportunity for con-
956 tamination of food. The villagers did not associate sanitation
751 with health, hence the hazards of a community meal which many
[751] persons helped to prepare were many. Two incidents observed the day before an ordination in early April, will illustrate. In the final stage of making Chinese noodles, rice flour paste was extruded through a perforated disk into an enormous pot of boiling water. When done, the product was removed with a fish net, and plunged into the canal to cool, after which women helpers spread it out on banana-leaf covered trays. Dishes were also washed before use in the canal, which was then too low for boats. Since, however, many people drank untreated canal water at this season (see p. 28), the added hazards for the participants caused by these procedures may have been slight.

962 In summary, food plays a major role in ceremonies and
792 festivities, which are concentrated in the 3 months' dry season. Proposals for dietary improvement in Bang Chan must take into account not only the possible effects of the (1)ngaan season on the total nutrient intake, and on opportunity for exposure to contaminated food, but also the importance of these affairs from the standpoint of merit and prestige, and the relatively great financial burdens which villagers therefore undertake because of them.

QUANTITATIVE DIETARY STUDY: FOODS EATEN AND ESTIMATED NUTRIENT INTAKE OF SELECTED FAMILIES IN BANG CHAN

Procedure

121 Selection of the Sample
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146 Medical inspection designed primarily to discover possible signs of nutritional deficiency was carried out in advance of the family dietary study. The suggestion of Grant (1948) that matched groups, of contrasting economic or other status be studied, appeared to be appropriate to the situation in Bang Chan. Our hope was to be able to select from the random sample of families given medical inspection (Hauck, 1956) a group of families (A) in each of which several members had clinical signs which might be evidence of malnutrition, and a group of families similar in age and sex distribution (B) in each of which the members were largely or wholly free from such signs.

125 When the medical inspection of the random sample was
146 complete, however, too few of the families were found to meet our criteria for inclusion in Group A, i.e. the group of apparently less well nourished families. Additional families for

concerning its culture and use. Tilapia culture was learned largely by trial and error, and was considered primarily as a source of extra cash. If it had been regarded also as a means of improving health through increasing the family's food supply, and if the homemaker had been shown how to use this unfamiliar fish in familiar ways, the outcome might have been different. Increased use of fermented fish and of small dried fish which are eaten whole, should be encouraged. So long as the ability of human beings to adapt to such low calcium intakes without harm has not been proved, any feasible means of increasing the calcium content of the diet seems worth trying.

More home consumption of eggs would be desirable, but their ready sale and acceptability for barter may present an obstacle to increased home use. Increased production would probably lead to some increased home use at least at the peak season. Duck eggs which are less often sold, might be stressed both for this reason, and because of their greater size. The idea held by some that eggs are not good for children nor for pregnant women should be countered when possible. Since hard cooked eggs have many ceremonial uses, they might be presented as "strengthening" food. Hard cooked eggs, which could be prepared the night before, would be convenient as breakfast for workers who would otherwise go to the field without food, for lunch to be carried to the field or to school, and for occasions when parents are to be away from home, as at a ceremonial, and should leave food at home for children.

Milk, as canned, dried or malted milk preparations, was considered an appropriate gift for the priests, who are forbidden to eat solid food after the 11 a.m. meal. Some of this may be shared with the temple boys. The respected old ladies and others who stay overnight at the temple on the Buddhist holy day, and who observe the same rules as the priests for this time, also like to drink milk, often with coffee. Perhaps the wat committee could be taught how dried or canned milk should be reconstituted, and could direct that this be done. They could both spend some of the cash offerings for milk and encourage those who buy gifts of food for the priests to include milk among them. People gladly bought food for the priests and would probably accept on the authority of the head priest or respected elders, the idea of buying certain foods of high nutritive value, even though these cost more. If a small group of leaders, such as the wat committee or the hamlet headmen were instructed in the dangers of contaminated water and the values of good food, with the implication that the best available should be offered the priests both daily, and on ceremonial occasions, improved practices might spread to home consumption, since most food is prepared in the home.

The importance of merit making and the relatively large cash expenditures involved in ceremonials, will probably influence acceptance of any improved practices which involve cash outlay. If some leaders were interested in dietary

177 249 cent of the respondents report that they have engaged in this activity). Even if no mushrooms have ever been grown in a given household, it is still likely that the individuals in it are aware of the practice and have observed it closely through the mushroom growing activities of their friends, relatives, and neighbors (reported in 43 per cent of the households). Only a few households (13 per cent) report that they have never grown mushrooms or have never been exposed to it in this way.

243 244 254 147 At the height of the boom, the demand for rice straw swept many of the fields clean of the stubble usually left there after harvest, thereby decreasing food for the roaming buffalo and the small increment of nutrients usually plowed back into the soil.

The advantages of mushroom culture cited by Goldsen and Ralis (1957) were 1) the cash outlay required was small, 2) returns were realized quickly as the cycle was completed in two to three weeks, 3) little heavy work was required and 4) at the time when Ralis made the survey, a ready market was available. When, in 1957, the price dropped sharply, most of the growers gave up.

262 435 796 [431] [998] [875] Food for Homage-to-the-Teacher Rite Performed by a Buddhist Priest Who Was a Traditional Practitioner

Item	Amount	Cost in Baht	Item	Amount	Cost in Baht
Cereals and Legume Seeds:			Fish and Meat (cont.):		
Rice noodles		10.	Dried fish	6	gift
Soybeans & fermented vegetables	25 kg.	12.	Roasted fish	1 kg.	gift
			Shrimp paste	2 kg.	18.
Mung beans	10 lit.	25.	Lobsters		15.
Cassava flour		2.25	Lobsters (for soup)		7.50
Sugar and dessert:			Pig's skin (for soup)		10.
			Beef[1]	15 kg.	150.
Palm sugar	1 pail	67.	Ingredients		27.
Cane sugar	14 kg.	85.	for Mussel-man curry[1]		
(2)Kha-(5)noom (3)tuaj-(1)foo	500 cups	35.	Boiled chickens[2]	2	22.
			Pig's head[2]	4 heads	222.
Fish and Meat:			Pork[2]	4 kg.	40.
Fish ((1)plaa (2)myk) for soup		6.			
Silurus and serpenthead	60 kg.	gift			

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Food for Homage-to-the-Teacher Rite (cont.)

Item	Amount	Cost in Baht
Fruit:		
Bananas ((3)klua; (4)nga-(4)waa)	5 bun.	from father
Chico[2]		5.
Coconut	150	180.
Coconut (young, to make dessert)	30	30.
Job's tears	1 lit.	3.
Plums, yellow[2]		5.
Pomelos[2]		6.
Rose apples[2]		2.
Tamarind		7.50
Tomato sauce		8.
Young palm fruit[4]	7 bun.	3.
Vegetables (non leafy):		
Bamboo shoots, cooked	1 pail	28.
[272] Cucumber		--3
[273] Egg plants		--3
[274] Garlic	5 kg..	26.50
Gourd, white		1.
Onion, fragrant[5]		6.
Onion[5]	4 kg.	4.
Onion, welsh[5]		--3
Mushrooms		3.
Radish, white		--3
[554] **Vegetables (leafy green and yellow):**		
Cabbages		--3
Chinese kale		--3
Chili, green		7.50
Vegetables (leafy green & yellow) cont.:		
Lettuce		--3
Parsley		--3
Pumpkin	3 fruits	12.
Sweet basil leaves		1.
Sweet potatoes	6 kg.	6.
(3)Tang-(5)oo		--3
Seasonings etc.:		
Vinegar	1 bottle	1.
Fishsoy	1 jar	10.
(2)Ka-(1)chaa;	2½ kg.	12.50
Sodium glutamate		5.
Pepper		14.
Agar	400 gms.	36.
Miscellaneous:		
Cola beverage	72 bottles	72.
Liquor	16 bottles	60.[6]
Ice		30.
Cigarettes	2 pkgs.	--[6]
Tobacco	1 heap	--[6]
Betel pepper		9.
Fresh areca nut		10.
Dried areca nut		8.
Dried palm leaves	1 big bundle	2.
Firewood		50.
	Total	1577.75

[284]

1. For Muslim guests.
2. Food items placed on a tray and used in the ceremony proper.
3. Items so marked cost a total of 140 baht.
4. Not identified.
5. Several kinds of onions, both fresh and dried, are commonly used.
6. Prices not stated; estimate for liquor.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

174 "extended families." The aim of all Bang Chan families even then was to
596 attain a position in which they would be free from such obligations or would have other families dependent upon them.

596 In the intervening years the influx of new families into Bang Chan, the
594 increased self-sufficiency of the individual nuclear families and, most im-
177 portant, the increased acceptance of commercial values, have served to
178 break down kindred groups so that today few kinsmen work their fields together and even fewer share their food or equipment with one another, beyond what has been noted above. Perhaps the only remaining *universally* [476] practiced function of the old kindred groups is the celebration of cere- [796] monials involving members of the family, particularly cremations and ordinations, the cost and merit of which are shared among the participants, [426] depending upon their wealth. Very often people do not want to borrow from or lend money or equipment to kinsmen precisely because the intrusion of the kinship tie makes the collection of such debts doubly awkward ("relatives take twice as long in repaying money; I do not want to lend anything to them"). However, the old forms have not been completely obliterated and when necessity requires or personal convenience moves an individual to look to others, the traditions of extended kinship, as indicated earlier, may be invoked.

596 For purposes of conceptual convenience, two types of kindred may be specified: the kind referred to above which involves kinsmen living in the village and to which Kaufman (1960) gives the name "spatially extended family"; and the type descriptive of relatives living outside Bang Chan, dispersed throughout other villages and provinces or in Bangkok, and called by Kaufman "the remotely extended family" and by L. M. Hanks (1959c) "the multi-local extended family." These terms are of course generic labels descriptive of actual or potential relationships between individuals, not of specifically delimited groups. Sometimes Bang Chaners attempt to extend the definition of the latter type of relationship to individuals who have never heard of them, but who may be in a position to help their son obtain a job in the city or get him admitted into a vocational
596 school. Hanks has shown how the multi-local extended family has to a
167 limited extent in recent years rejuvenated extended kinship ties by becom-
602 ing the major institutional mechanism through which villagers leave Bang
178 Chan to seek their fortunes elsewhere. (This last phrase is not merely a figure of speech; many young Bang Chan men have what could be called almost a Dick Whittington view about leaving Bang Chan for Bangkok.) A cousin who undertakes to serve as a villager's liaison to a city job or who offers him a place to stay usually does so willingly, for it creates obligations which may be called upon later if need be.

596 The above description of variations and extensions has been presented

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

These assumptions about the indeterminate nature of the universe and human actions are so integral to the villagers' cognitive orientations that Bang Chaners often hesitate to make even the most elementary kinds of prediction. Thus, in asking a village lad how he felt about his older brother's forthcoming ordination, I was told, "I don't know." The tone of his reply indicated that he was not evading the question, so I pursued the matter further: "Well, do you feel happy about it? Do you wish you were being ordained together with him?" He answered: "The ordination is not for another three days. I do not know how I will feel at that time. But when that time comes I will know." In another case, I was going up the canal with a villager to attend a "Kathin" being held at the monastery. (A "Kathin" is a fiesta-like merit making ceremony sponsored by a person or group of persons from outside the village at which new robes are presented to the monastery monks. It involves the sponsors, their local hosts, and all villagers who wish to attend.) Although not necessarily an annual event, "Kathins" are held often enough at Monastery Bang Chan so that this villager, who was also a member of the monastery lay committee, was thoroughly familiar with every aspect of them. Simply to make conversation, I asked him: "What is the 'Kathin' going to be like today?" to which he replied, "I do not know. I have not been to the monastery yet today." Assuming that his past experience with "Kathins" provided him with some knowledge of the goings-on, I went on: "Well, do you think there will be many people?" His answer: "I do not know. You never know what a situation is like until you meet it. I have not met this one yet today."

The point of these various illustrations is that they represent a psychological universe of uncertainty and unpredictability. And in this kind of universe—where one hesitates to build up sharply defined expectations and where one is forever aware of the mutability and frailty of the environment—it is not unusual that there should also be a high tolerance for interpersonal nonconformity. What the actual limits are, theoretical or empirical, to this tendency to nonconformity are uncertain. Much of the nonconformity is undoubtedly made possible, in the first instance, by the *sociologically simple and relatively undifferentiated* nature of Bang Chan society; that is, the actual number of functionally specific tasks and roles—those that require special competencies—are few, and any number of different individuals can perform them. Thus, when a Bang Chan employee walks out on his boss or when a wife walks out on her husband, their actions do not from a functional point of view disable the system. Since the requirements of the role of house servant or farmhand are characteristically simple and understood by all, the departing employee can usually be replaced by another individual. Similarly, since any adult—aunt, grandparents, older sibling—can and often does rear another's children, and

47.b. IF YES: For what various activities did you contribute labor? (See code at end) 125 [653]

c. During the past year, have there been any public welfare activities, not connected with the wat or with religious ceremonies in the home, or not, to which you contributed money or goods?

1. Yes	128
2. No	197
3. Unascertainable	8

d. IF YES: For what various activities did you contribute money or goods? (See code at end)

48.a. Have you attended the ceremony of wisaka bucha at Wat BC every year, or only in some years, or only once in many years, or never? [796]

8. Every year	156
9. Only in some years	135
X. Once in many years	21
Y. Never	14
0. Unascertainable	7

b. Have you attended the ceremony of gilding the Buddha's footprint at Wat BC every year, or only in some years, or only once in many years, or never?

1. Every year	225
2. Only in some years	62
3. Once in many years	17
4. Never	9
5. Unascertainable	20

49.a. Excuse me, this is a strange question, but do you own a pair of shoes? [291]

6. Yes	136
7. No	197

b. Of what various materials are your shoes made?

8. Leather	65
9. Cloth, canvass	37
X. Other, specify_____	11
0. Unascertainable	
— No Answer	1

50.a. In your household, is there a hatchet, or not? [412]

1. Yes, hatchet	309
2. No	24

b. (In your household), is there a pressure lamp, or not? [416]

3. Yes, pressure lamp	188
4. No	145

c. (In your household), is there a flashlight or not?

5. Yes, flashlight	272
6. No	61
— No Answer	1

125 Question 46.d. (Cont'd)

431 Construction activities (Cont'd)

651 To the Wat (to repair Wat, construction in Wat, fixing walls) 27

Contribution for building materials (buy cement, concrete floor, wood and tin, for new cement sidewalks, water tank) 21

To Surae (general fund, repair) 9

To build a bridge 8

To buy a generator 6

To build priest's house bathroom 5

To build preaching hall 3

[796] Ceremonials

[764] For ceremonies, unspecified 12

To guild the golden leaf 27

To cremation (to build crematorium; to cremate father, people without relatives; to build corpse go-down; priest's funeral) 12

To Wat fair 10

Other (to Katlin, to revise the Buddhist sacred book, to ordain priest, for building Buddha figure, to New Year festival, for dancing girls) 11

To Surae fair 4

Food and related donations

Gave rice, unspecified 5

Gave rice (food) for Wat, priests 18

Gave rice for Wat fair 7

To buy utensils (including cooking utensils) for Wat 6

To buy utensils for Surae 6

Gave food to Surae 1

243 291 511 needs at least two work suits in each rice season, one during the field preparation and another during the harvesting season.

372 226 511 Kerosine is used every day for lighting purposes. We do not include in this category kerosine which is used in the farm work; but that used with the pressure lamp in fishing by spearing during the night is included in the ordinary household expenses, for we do not consider fishing as a farm enterprise but as a routine activity participated in by all Bangchan residents, farmers and non-farmers alike.

431 476 796 511 [792] [764] [585] Contributions to neighbors is a necessary item of expense in the village. These are cash gifts made by invited guests to the sponsor of such rituals as ordination, cremation, marriage, topnotch-cutting, and teacher worship. These rituals usually take place during the dry season following harvesting when cash is abundant in the village and are always followed by feasts, not uncommonly in a series of two or three days. Since all these rituals necessitate the participation of the priests, they have to be arranged in consultation with the temple to avoid conflicting schedules. Although few rituals have been noted to be in conflict with one another, usually they are spread throughout the dry season and m ost people are able to attend rituals to which they are invited. In cases where they cannot attend in person, they are obliged by conventional requirement to send in their cash contributions. The standard cash contribution is 5 - 10 baht. Usually, a

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

431 guest contributes exactly the same amount that was given
476 him by the man when he last attended his party. Written
796 account is always kept by the host specifying contributors
511 and respective amounts given. When invited to a ritual, the guest consults his book and takes along an appropriate amount of cash. It is on this basis of reciprocal help that a prospective sponsor of a ritual has been able to determine the size of cash contribution he would receive from neighbors. Since a guest normally contributes no more than ten baht and no less than five baht, his annual expense on this item depends largely on the number of parties he attends each year. Our records for 1952 show that this ranges from 30 to 1,000 baht, averaging 343 baht.

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511 We include in the personal item of expenses the amounts spent on traveling, entertainment, coffee, liquor, etc. To be sure, some of these should be grouped under the stimulant item. We, however, intentionally put coffee and liquor here because the sequence seems to better fit the requirements of the persons responding to questions so that better answers might be obtained. Tobacco, betel, and areca, for example, appear to have somewhat constant rates of consumption. They are usually bought in large quantities which will last for a considerable length of time. As a result, informants are in a position to give more accurate rates of consumption of these items than those of liquor and coffee of which consumption is somewhat irregular and is difficult to estimate.

434 enough for efficient movement of paddy.

458 The general practice was that right after harvest immediate sale of paddy was necessary for settlement of credit purchase accounts and rentals. Another sale was perhaps necessary a few days later for living expenses which had been postponed during the cash-scarce [796] period before harvesting. Then another sale might be made in order to have cash to pay for building materials needed for repair work which was usually done during this time. Just before March a final sale for this first period was made in order that the family may have cash enough to last through July. The money was to cover contributions to various rituals to which the family had already been invited, and perhaps to cover ritual sponsor by the family itself. Besides, there was still need for cash for each family member to carry around during this period of festivals.

*243 Villagers said that few farm operators had any
434 paddy left for sale in the second period (July - November).
458 This was contrary to our findings as shown later in Table 65. Perhaps, they were thinking of conspicuous sales of large amounts by farmers having say over 500 tang of paddy for sale in the second period.

*[128] During the last few days of March, 1953, when paddy sale had apparently ceased, we made a round call covering the homes of all 96 sample-families and checked the amount of paddy on hand as of the end of March.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 360]

432 seller of the land did not show up until the next morning. Recruit had to be made for guns and men to guard the money for that whole long night.

3. Scarcity of money

243 434 Scarcity of money exists in Bangchan because there is, relative to the demand for purchased goods and services, only a small margin between the price received and the cash outlay of producing paddy. Another reason is that most farms are too small, thus yielding small net cash incomes to the majority of farm operators in the village. Small incomes of farm operators who constitute the core of village economy means also small incomes of the rest of the village population whose financial condition directly or indirectly depends on incomes of farm operators.

426 458 Scarcity of money is directly evidenced by shortage of money during theperiod from July to December. It is also indicated by high rates of interest on credit purchases and loans sought in the village.

434 454 The problem of scarcity of money has been rendered more acute by the fact that affluent farmers do not like to keep cash at home or put it in liquid form such as in saving bank in the nearby market town, but prefer to invest it in a more or less non-liquid form such as loans or land purchases. Some of those who had accumulated a large amount also tend to spend it on sponsoring of rituals costing as high as several

[796]

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thousand baht to more than ten thousand baht which is a real drain on the village cash supply.

These huge expenses are, however, partially compensated by such items as loans sought from outside or sale of lands and other assets. It cannot be expected, however, that these items would provide enough supply of cash to bring down the rate of interest in the village.

[426]

4. Role of paddy

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Paddy is extensively used in the village as a medium of exchange. It is used in both small transactions of a few baht and large transactions of several thousand baht. Thus paddy stock may almost be considered as equivalent of a bank balance.

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The most important consumption uses of paddy are as seeds and for human consumption. In order to make it really comparable to a bank balance, allowance must be made for the amount necessary for seeds and human consumption although the amount for chicken feed may be dispensed with because the farmer may choose to drop his poultry enterprise. On this basis, we have arbitrarily coined a term "index ofcapital formation potential with present levels of living" to represent the amount of paddy in tang which is left at the operator's disposal at the end of March after allowance for seeds and family consumption has been made. No allowance is made for special consumption expenses such

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*243
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